

*Observations on General Maclagan's paper on the Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar, J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 38.—By H. BEVERIDGE.*

[Read November, 1903.]

General Maclagan's paper is a very valuable and interesting one, but he has fallen into some mistakes from relying upon Mr. Rehatsek, etc. I beg to offer the following remarks as supplementary to it :

It is somewhat singular that the writers who have discussed the religious opinions of the Emperor Akbar have said so comparatively little about the account of them given by Abul-Fazl in the historical portion of the Akbarnāma.

Mr. Blochmann has noticed the references in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, and he, as well as Vans Kennedy, H. H. Wilson, Rehatsek and General Maclagan, have given full abstracts of Badayūni's account of the matter. But they have said little about the references in the historical parts of the Akbarnāma, and with the exception of Rehatsek, none of them has noticed the chapter in the Akbarnāma which deals expressly with Akbar's position as the founder of a religion. This chapter occurs in the annals of the 24th year of the reign and is headed "The acceptance by the wise men of the age of the spiritual authority (Ijtihād) of the world's lord."

This chapter is to be found in Vol. III, p. 268 of the Bib. Ind. ed., which corresponds to Vol. III, p. 140 of the Cawnpore ed. Rehatsek has indeed referred, though without citing the page, to two passages in this chapter, but he has not done so correctly, and so he has misled General Maclagan.

Mr. Rehatsek, who was a man of varied accomplishments, but the conditions of whose life were not favourable to accuracy, published in the *Calcutta Review* for January 1886 an article called "Missionaries to the Mogul Court," and at page 3 he makes two erroneous statements. The first is that Abul Fazl states that the malevolent rumour of Akbar's hatred to Muhammadanism and of his having become a Brahman, was refuted by the Christian philosophers. Evidently this refers to two

passages in the Akbarnama, Bib. Ind. ed., Vol. III, pp. 272, 73, corresponding to III. 142 of the Cawnpore edition. But though Akbar's alleged dislike to the Muhammadan religion and partiality for Hinduism are there mentioned, nothing is said about the assertions being refuted by the Christians. The second misstatement is more serious. Mr. Rehatsek says: "The only passage in the whole Akbarnāma in which a temporary inclination of Akbar towards Christianity has been alluded to is as follows:"

"He conversed for some time on the religious information he had obtained from Christian priests, but it appeared after a short while, that their arguments had made no great impression upon his mind, so that he troubled himself no more with contemplations about asceticism, the allurements of poverty, and the despicableness of a worldly life."

Now, it would indeed be extraordinary if Abul Faḥl had represented his master as ceasing to be interested in contemplations about asceticism, etc., for he is continually saying the reverse. He is never weary of referring to Akbar's love for a detached and solitary life, and of describing him as keeping the lamp of privacy burning, though apparently engrossed in worldly business or pleasure. In the Memorabilia collected at the end of the Ain we find Akbar saying: "Discourses on philosophy have such a charm for me that they distract me from all else, and I forcibly restrain myself from listening to them, lest the necessary duties of the hour should be neglected" (Jarrett's translation). It is incredible, too, that any one who aspired to found a new religion would think, or speak, lightly of asceticism. But in fact Abul Faḥl has no such passage as Mr. Rehatsek has ascribed to him. The reference he gives is to the Lucknow ed. III. 208. This corresponds to III. 128 of the Cawnpore ed. and to III, 243, 44 of the Bib. Ind. ed. But the passage does not refer to Akbar at all! It is a description of one 'Abdul Bāqī Turkestānī who had been to Mecca and had picked up some religious notions from Christian philosophers (Aḥbār-i-Naṣārā). "For a time," says Abul Faḥl, "his fluency gained him credit, but it soon appeared that he had not exercised a seeing eye, and had not penetrated to the holy temple of religious observances (or asceticism, *riyāzat*). He became convinced of his incapacity and of the waste that he had made of his life, and started his studies anew." Probably this means that 'Abdul Bāqī, who is described as being a man of good disposition and as acquainted with philosophy, became one of Akbar's disciples, for we learn from the Ain that he became a Ṣadr or chief minister of religion.

The chapter on Akbar's "Ijtihād" describes the declaration of faith made by the Ulama, but does not give a copy of it. This, however, may be seen in Badayūnī, Lowe's translation, p. 279, and also in the

Tabaqāt-i-Akbari of Nizām-u-d-dīn, though unfortunately the passage has not been translated in Elliot's History. Curiously enough, Abul Fazl does not mention his father Mubārak as one of the authors of the declaration. According to Badayūnī, it was Mubārak who drafted the document and who was the chief instigator of it, and the only one who voluntarily signed it. The chapter also tells of Akbar's mounting the pulpit, and gives the verse composed for him by Faizī, though of course it makes no allusion to the break-down described by Badayūnī. Apparently this incident took place in the last week of June 1579, and so about two months before the signing of the declaration which seems to have occurred in the beginning of September of that year. Abul Fazl however mentions the latter event first, which shows, if proof were needed, that he is not an accurate chronologist. The chapter goes on to notice the opposition excited by Akbar's procedure, and how some accused him of claiming to be God, others of his claiming to be a prophet, while a third set maintained that he was a Shīa, and a fourth that he had turned a Hindu!

There is another chapter in which Abul Fazl describes the discussions in the 'Ibādatkhāna or "House of worship." This is an earlier chapter and belongs to the 23rd year. (Bib. Ind. ed., III. 252.) This chapter has been partially translated in Elliot, VI. 59, and is famous on account of its mention of Father Rodolfo Acquaviva.<sup>1</sup> Presumably the reference to Acquaviva was inserted in a subsequent recension by the author, for it is wanting in the Lucknow and Cawnpore editions. There can be no doubt that Rodolfo Acquaviva is the person meant, though some MSS. call him Radif and some Raunaq. In an excellent MS. belonging to the India Office, formerly numbered 564, and now 236, the name is spelt very carefully Rudulfu, all the points being given. It is singular, however, that Abul Fazl should have put his mention of Acquaviva into the 23rd year, *i.e.*, between 10th March 1578 and March 1579, for it is certain that Acquaviva did not reach Fathpūr Sikrī till 18th February 1580<sup>2</sup> and presumably he could not have taken part in the discussions in the Ibadatkhana till some months later, when he might have acquired sufficient fluency in Persian.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is the spelling of the Father himself at the end of his letter of 27th September 1582 in the Marsden MS. 9854.

<sup>2</sup> Bartoli says, 27th February, and probably 18 is a clerical error for 28. We are told by Bartoli that the land journey from Surat to Fathpūr took 43 days, and as they left that place on 15th January, this would make the day of their arrival 27th February. They left Goa on the 17th November 1579 and arrived at Surat after twenty days. Apparently they stayed there for some time. Monserrat fell ill on the way and was left at Narwār, so that only Acquaviva and Enriquez arrived at Fathpūr in February.

<sup>3</sup> Rodolfo was a year in Goa before he started for Fathpūr, for he landed in

The chronology is important, for it seems to show that the mission of Acquaviva and his companions was doomed to failure from the first, as it is evident that they arrived too late.

Akbar had already made himself Pope, so to speak, and it was not likely that he would abandon his position as Mujtahid and sit at the feet of a young Feringhi Padre. The anachronism is not the only error in Abul Fazl's account. He misrepresents the story of the proposed ordeal by fire, and represents Acquaviva as doing the very foolish thing of challenging the Muḥammadan doctors to enter a fire. We know both from Badayūnī, and from the Jesuits that the proposal came from a Muḥammadan. In all probability it was, as the Jesuits stated, not a *bonâ fide* proposal. Badayūnī tells us that it came from Shaikh Qutbu-d-dīn of Jaleswar in the district of Agra. Evidently this is the Shaikh Qutbu of Jaleswar mentioned in the Akbarnāma III. 309 Bib. Ind. ed. There we are told that he was found out to be a cheat, and worthless outwardly and inwardly. This leads us to suppose that Blochmann is right in translating Badayūnī's word *kharābī* as meaning that he was a wicked man, and that Mr. Lowe is wrong in taking it to mean that he was only intoxicated with Divine love. Badayūnī, I think, meant to say that he was a drunken fanatic, and just such a person as a friend of S. Jamāl Bakhtiyārī was likely to be, for Jamāl was notorious for his drunken habits, and was only tolerated by Akbar because his sister was one of the favourites of the harem.

Akbar's first introduction to the Portuguese was in the 17th year of his reign when he was engaged in besieging the fort of Surat. Abul Fazl's account of the matter III. 27, is that the Portuguese had been invited by the besieged to take over the fortress, but that when they found Akbar was too strong, they pretended that they had come on an embassy to him (See Elliot, VI. 42). It is likely enough that the Portuguese came with two objects in view. They had been invited by the besieged, just as they had been invited by Bahādur Shāh forty years before, and they probably thought that they would be able to repeat their success and to acquire Surat as they had acquired Diu. But they were also prepared to act as ambassadors to Akbar and took a quantity of presents with them. Akbar, according to Abul Fazl, received them graciously and asked them many questions about the productions of Portugal, and the customs of the Europeans. It seemed as if he did this from a desire for knowledge, but he had another motive, namely, a wish to tame and civilise this savage race (*guroh-i-waḥshī*)!

India on 13th September 1578, but probably there were no facilities at Goa for learning Persian. As we have seen he left Goa for Fathpūr *viâ* Surat on 17th November 1579. Acquaviva was canonised by the late Pope in 1893.

My friend Mr. Whiteway has kindly referred me to Diego-da-Couto's account in his 9th Decade, Chap. XIII, p. 63, ed. *seq.* of the edition of Lisbon, 1786. It appears from it that the embassy referred to by Abul Fazl was that which is known as Antonio Cabral's,<sup>1</sup> and which is referred to by General Maclagan in a note at p. 48.

Couto does not say distinctly where the embassy was received by Akbar. Probably this took place at Surat, though there may also have been negotiations at Damān. The fact is that Akbar was as anxious to conciliate the Portuguese as the Portuguese were to please him. For his stepmother Ḥājī Begam and also other ladies wished to visit Mecca, and could not do so without the favour of the Portuguese. It is therefore quite possible that, as Couto states, Akbar had previously sent an embassy to the Viceroy. Couto gives a translation of a *firmān* granted by Akbar on 18th March 1573, that is ten days after Akbar had left Surat. Possibly this was granted at Broach, where Akbar halted on his way from Surat to Aḥmadābād. Couto also tells us that Akbar was waited upon by the Portuguese merchants at Cambay and that he assumed the Portuguese dress there.

In the annals of the 23rd year Abul Fazl records III. 243, the arrival from Bengal of a Portuguese named Partāb Bār and his wife Nashūrna<sup>2</sup> or Nasunta. He describes Partāb Bār as an officer of the merchants of the ports of Bengal. Afterwards, p. 320, he refers to him as giving protection to one of the Bengal rebels, and Blochmann, *Ain* translation 440, calls him the Portuguese governor of Hooghly. If this is so, the Portuguese records should give his name, for presumably they contain a list of the governors. As remarked in Elliot, VI. 59, where the passage from the Akbarnama is translated, the names of Partāb and his wife are very doubtful.

There are several variations in the MSS., and among them is the reading Tab Bārsū, which the author of the *Darbār-i-Akbarī* seems to have found in his MS. (see his work, p. 67.) He also does not appear to have found any mention of Partāb's wife, and indeed the fact that the lady did come is not free from doubt, for there are, I believe, other MSS. which omit her name. However, I think that there can be no reasonable doubt that Partāb Bār or Tār is either a corruption or the

<sup>1</sup> Du Jarric also speaks of an embassy of Cabral's in March 1578, and in this he is supported by the authorities, *e.g.*, Peruschi, who ascribes Akbar's original liking for the Christians to Antonio Cabral's communications. He, however, also makes mention of Tavares. He gives the name of the priests of Sātgaon as Julian Pereira.

<sup>2</sup> Various called Nashurna, Nasunta, and Basurba. Possibly, as a lady has suggested to me, the name is Assunta, and the N belongs to the title Donna. Or it may be that the alif of ba, "with" is the first letter of her name.

Indian title of Pietro Tavares, a Portuguese captain who was at Akbar's Court in 1578. His mission to Akbar is mentioned by Sebastian Manrique—Murray's *Discoveries in Asia*, p. 11, 99—who says he went up from Hooghly. Bartoli, on the other hand (*Missione al Gran Mogor*, Piacenza, 1819, p. 5) describes him as a military servant of Akbar. Tavares, apparently, deserves the credit of having been the first to introduce Portuguese priests to Akbar. He induced him to send for Egidio Anes Pereira, or Julian Pereira, the vicar of Sāt-gāon, and then the latter suggested to Akbar that he should send for priests from Goa. It was this which led to Akbar's sending an ambassador to Goa, and to the mission of Rodolfo Acquayiva and his companions. According to Bartoli, Akbar had already been favourably impressed by the honesty of two priests who had come to Bengal some three years previously, and had rebuked their countrymen for cheating the imperial government in the matter of the customs.

The exact date of the arrival of Tavares and Pereira is not known, but presumably it was in 1578. Tavares is represented by Bartoli as remarking to Akbar that the priests would be better able to instruct him in religion than the Brahmans and Mullas by whom he was surrounded. This is an allusion to the discussions in the 'Ibādatkhāna which, as we learn from the *Akbarnāma* III. 252, were re-inaugurated about the beginning of October 1578. The building, however, had been constructed some three years before this—*Akbarnāma* III, 112.<sup>1</sup>

General Maclagan has touched, p. 53, upon the interesting question of Akbar's Christian wife. It is not certain if there was such a lady, but possibly she was some relation of Tavares.

Colonel Kincaid in an article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, Vol. III, p. 164, speaks of a Juliana who married John Philip Bourbon, and who was Akbar's sister-in-law, and the Catholic Bishop of Agra told Dr. Wolff that there was a Juliana who acted as a Doctor in Akbar's harem. Possibly, however, there has been a mistake of dates, and the lady Juliana meant is the lady who flourished in the time of Aurangzeb and Bahādur Shāh<sup>2</sup>.

General Maclagan has quoted a passage from Badayūnī about a question put by Hājī Ibrāhīm regarding the derivation of the word Musa. A Qazi's son afterwards made a remark about this which was much

<sup>1</sup> Abul Fazl puts the construction of the building into the 19th year of the reign, and Nizāmu-d-dīn puts it into the 20th year. It was begun in the month Zu-l-qā'da which, according to the *Akbarnāma* III. 334, is a month in which kindness should be shown to heretics.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Kincaid's article appeared in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January 1887, p. 164. He describes John Philip Bourbon as having been born in 1535.

applauded, but of which the point is invisible to us. The author of the *Darbār-i-Akbarī* tells the story as a joke, p. 39, but fails to explain it. Possibly the point consisted in an allusion to the 'Īsā who was a rebel in Bengal, or it may be that the point consisted in asking an ignorant man like Akbar the explanation of a grammatical nicety.

A more interesting reference to Christianity is found at p. 256 of Vol. III of the *Akbarnāma*, where Akbar, in the course of speaking about the Hindu custom of *Satī*, observed to the Catholic priests that such sacrifice of life on the part of women would be more comprehensible in their country, as respect to women was part of their religion, and also as there a man was confined to one wife.

At p. 42 General Maclagan quotes a passage from the *Akbarnāma* (Bib. Ind. ed. III. 577) about one Padre Farmaleūn.

Formerly I suggested that this might be Fra Emmanuel Pinheiro, but General Maclagan has shown that this is untenable.

I have now scarcely any doubt that the person meant is, as General Maclagan has suggested, the Greek Sub-deacon Leo, or Leon Grimon. Probably Abul Fazl rendered the initial G by a Q and wrote *قرمليون* and the copyist missed one dot, which is all the difference between *fā* and *qāf* when the letters are joined. The dictionaries tell us that *qāf* is sometimes used for *gāf*, and indeed this must be the case in Arabic as that language has no G. An India Office MS. has *Farbitūn*, and another has *Farmilūn*. There is also the form *Faribtūn*. Apparently the surname has been placed before the Christian name and the name written as if it were Grimonleon.

What helps us to identify Grimon the Greek with Farmaleon is that Abul Fazl tells us that Padre Farmaleon was employed in making translations of Greek books. It would seem that though Grimon or Farmaleūn came from Goa, he had not come from Europe.

He had been returning to his own country when he touched at Goa, and presumably he was on his way home from China, for his companions brought China goods with them. That Grimon stayed on at Akbar's court for a considerable time we know from Du Jarric's account, who tells us that Grimon had a crown a day from Akbar, and that he relinquished this, and also left his wife behind him when he accompanied Benedict Goes to Yārkaṅd.<sup>1</sup> Abul Fazl's account enables us to know the date of Grimon's arrival at Lahore, for what he tells is, that he arrived on 26th Farwardīn of the 35th year, that is, 5th or 6th April 1590. This makes it impossible that Farmileūn is a mistake for Edward Leioton, as the latter one did not arrive till 1591. Leioton, too, did not stay

<sup>1</sup> Du Jarric says Yarkaṅd, but apparently Sir Henry Yule says that Grimon turned back at Kabul.

long at Court, and his mission was not at all a success. It is unlikely therefore that Abul Fazl would mention him. On the other hand, Grimon seems to have stayed many years at Court, for he came in 1590 and left with Goes on 15th February 1603. As he left his newly-married wife behind him, he probably returned to Agra from Kabul or Yārkaṇḍ.

At p. 56 General Maclagan gives a translation of Rodolfo Acquaviva's letter of 27th September 1582, which is in the Marsden M.S.B.M. Add. M.S.S. 9854. The translation, however, seems inferior to that given in Father Goldie's book (1897).

Father Goldie also gives in an Appendix the original Portuguese. The words *Dottor Imperbicado*, or *Impervicado*, which were applied to Mubārak by Father Monserrat, present a difficulty, the word *Imperbicado* not being found in any dictionary. General Maclagan renders it "self-sufficient," but it seems to me from the context that the word was used as a compliment. I would suggest *Imporfiado*, which might mean Not-obstinate, *i.e.*, liberal or open-minded, which, indeed, was Mubārak's character. In a note to the translation by Mr. Phillips in Father Goldie's book, it is said that the phrase is obviously a nickname.

General Maclagan's account of the 2nd and 3rd Missions is very interesting, but I have nothing to add to the information contained in it.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is an interesting passage about Akbar's religious discussions in the *Zubdatu-t-Tawārīkh* of Nūr-al-ḥaq.—See Elliot, VI. 182.